

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3226

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

USIA WASHDC

SHAPE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 2956

EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, DA

SUBJECT: EUGENE ROSTOW'S CLOSING SPEECH

AT END OF MEETING OF ATLANTIC TREATY

ASSOCIATION

1. EUGENE ROSTOW, PRES OF ATLANTIC TREATY

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ASSOCIATION FOR PAST 3 YEARS, MADE CLOSING ADDRESS

TO 22ND ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION HELD
IN COPENHAGEN, SEPT 3-6. ADDRESS
WAS RECEIVED WITH STANDING OVATION
ON PART OF ALL DELEGATIONS. IN VIEW OF THE
ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION, EMBASSY CABLING
ENTIRE TEXT. (FYI ROSTOW ASKED DCM TO SEND DEPTTEXT TO NATO CAPS AND
STRESSED IMPORTANCE CONCLUDING
PARAGRAPHS END FYI.

2. TEXT OF SPEECH, ENTITLED "NO GROUND FOR DESPAIR" FOLLOWS:
AS MY PRESIDENCY COMES TO ITS NATURAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL END,
I WISH FIRST TO THANK YOU FOR THE HONOUR OF YOUR CONFIDENCE, YOUR
WARMTH, YOUR ENCOURAGEMENT, AND YOUR FRIENDSHIP DURING THESE THREE
AND A HALF YEARS. IT HAS BEEN A PLEASURE TO PRESIDE OVER YOUR
AFFAIRS, AND MY WIFE AND I SHALL ALWAYS VALUE THE MEMORIES OF OUR
ASSOCIATION, AND THE ECHO OF THE KIND WORDS SPOKEN HERE ABOUT MY
WORK. FOLLOWING THE EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF SIR FRANK AND LADY
ROBERTS, MY WIFE AND I TRIED TO VISIT ALL THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS
DURING MY TERM OF OFFICE. WHILE WE FAILED TO REACH NORWAY, LUXEM-
BOURG, GREECE, AND PORTUGAL, DESPITE OUR BEST EFFORTS AND
THOSE OF
OUR COLLEAGUES IN THOSE COUNTRIES, WE DID MAKE MEMORABLE TRIPS TO
THE OTHER CENTERS OF ACTIVITY. WE WERE RECEIVED IN EACH
INSTANCE WITH ALTOGETHER EXCEPTIONAL CORDIALITY AND GRACE, FOR WHICH
WE SHALL ALWAYS BE GRATEFUL.

IN THIS BRIEF VALEDICTORY, I SHALL CONFINE MYSELF TO ONE
THEME WHICH EMERGED WITH GREAT FORCE DURING THE DISCUSSION OF
BOTH ITEMS ON THE AGENDA OF THIS ASSEMBLY: IS THE MENACE OF SOVIET
POLICY TO WESTERN CIVILISATION AS GRIM AS THE STATISTICS MAKE IT
SEEM? IF ONE LOOKS TO THE FUTURE THROUGH COLUMNS OF FIGURES
ABOUT TANKS, WARSHIPS, AND MISSILES, ONE CANNOT RESIST THE
FORMIDABLE
HYPOTHESIS PROPOSED BY LORD CHALFONT, ADMIRAL JUNGUIS AND MR. POLMAR:
THE HYPOTHESIS, THAT IS, THAT WE RAPIDLY LOSING OUR CAPACITY TO
DETER SOVIET AGGRESSION, AND THEREFORE THAT WE FACE AN IMMINENT
CHOICE - VERY IMMINENT CHOICE, ACCORDING TO THE MANDRINS OF
NUCLEAR LOGIC - BETWEEN CAPITULATION AND A WAR OR SERIES OF WARS
WHICH ON ANY NATIONAL CALCULATION WE SHOULD BE HARD PRESSED TO
WIN. THE KEY PAPERS TO WHICH OUR DIALOGUE HAS BEEN ADDRESSED
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CONTEND THAT WE ARE ONCE AGAIN IN THE QUANDARY WE FACED DURING
THE THIRTIES, WHEN HITLER AND HIS ALLIES THREATENED WAR, AND
PREPARED FOR WAR, BUT WE DID NOT BELIEVE HIM, BUT REMAINED PARA-
LYZED UNTIL IT WAS TOO LATE TO DO ANYTHING BUT FIGHT.

A LARGE PART OF WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION STILL RESISTS THE
HYPOTHESIS WHICH HAS BEEN PUT BEFORE US, IN THE NAME OF DECENCY
AND GOOD WILL, JUST AS DECENT AND WELL MEANING DEMOCRATIC OPINION

RESISTED THE COMPARABLE HYPOTHESIS 40 YEARS AGO. OUR ESTEEMED FRIEND, AND OUR NEW PREISDENT, DR. KARL MOMMER, WHO HAS SO HONORABLY SHARED THE AGONY AND TRUMPH OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT IN OUR TIME, SUMMED UP THE CENTRAL ISSUE PERFECTLY ON FRIDAY, WHEN HE EXPRESSED THE PRE-VAILING SKEPTICISM, TO SAY THE LEAST, ABOUT WHETHER THE LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION WERE REALLY CAPABLE OF CONEIVING AND CARRYING OUT SO EVIL A POLICY. IF WHAT LORD CHALFONT SAYS IS TRUE, DR. MOMMER ARGUED, THE SOVIET REGIME IS AS BAD AS HITLER'S. "CAN THIS REALLY BE THE CASE?" HE ASKED.

I SUGGEST THAT WE SEEK AN ANSWER TO DR. MOMMER'S PRIMORDIAL QUESTION IN SIGUMNE FREUD'S GREAT BOOK, "CIVILISATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS". HISTORY, FREUD SAID, IS DOMINATED BY THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO FORCES WITHIN EVERY HUMAN BEING, AND EVERY CULTURE: THE FORCE OF AGGRESSION, OF HATRED, OF DESTRUCTION FOR ITS OWN SAKE, OF DEATH, ON THE ONE HAND; AND ON THE OTHER, THE FORCE OF WHAT FREUD, FOLLOWING ST. PAUL, CALLED LOVE, ROS, AD LIFE - THE HUMAN INSTINCT FOR ORDER, JUSTICE AND CREATION; THE INSTINCT WHICH PRODUCES GARDENS, LIBRARIES, AND CITIES AS BEAUTIFUL AS THIS ONE. FREUD ARGUED THAT HHE DISCONTENTS OF CIVILIZATION ARISE FROM THE FACT THAT CIVILIZATION MUST RESTRAIN THE INSTINCT FOR AGGRESSION AND THE DEATH-WISH IN ORDER TO GIVE SCOPE TO THE I STINCT FOR LIFE.

LORD CHALFONT DESCRIBED THIS DILEMMA AS THE ETERNAL PROBLEM OF FINDING AN APPROPRIATE BALANCE BETWEEN FREEDOM AND ORDER. IT IS A PROBLEM EVERY SOCIETY CONFRONTS, AND ONE WHICH EACH SOCIETY MUST RESOLVE IN WAYS WHICH SATISFY ITS OWN PARTICULAR HISTORY, ITS HABITS, AND ITS CODE OF VALUES. WITHTHE BIAS OF MY OWN PRO-FESSION, I SHOULD DESCRIBE THIS DILEMMA AS THE PERENNIAL AND PERPETUAL PROBLEM OF LAW. AS SOMEONE ONCE REMAKRED, "THERE HAVE BEEN MANY CULTURES IN THE PAST WHICH REACH THE LEVEL OF CIVILI-ZATION WITHOUT BENEFIT OF PENICILLIN, BUT NEVER WITHOUT BENEFIT OF UNCLASSIFIED

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THE RUSSIAN CULTURE, LIKE EVERY OTHER, HAS ELEMENTS FROM BOTH
OF FREUD'S CATEGORIESV IVAN THE TERRIBLE AND PETER THE GREAT;
STALIN AND THE MEN OF 1905; BOLSHIEVIKS AND MENSHEVIKS; PROPHETS
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OF TYRANNY AND SOME OF THE FINEST AND MOST HEROIC OF MODERN VOICES

FROM THE CHORUS OF HUMANTY: SLZHENITZSY, SAKHAROV, SINAISKY,
AKHMATOVA AND THE OTHERS. OUT OF THE CRUCIBLE OF THEIR EXPERIENCE,
THESE RUSSIANS WRITERS HAVE BECOME THE NATURAL LEADERS OF THE LIBER-
TARIAN MOVEMENT WHICH MAY, AND I HOPE, WILL ACHIEVE THE RENAISSANCE
OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

8 I SHOULD ANSWER DR. MOMMER'S QUESTION, THEREFORE, IN THIS WAY;
RUSSIAN HISTORY CONTAINS BOTH THE MEN OF THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO AND
THOSE OF THE TRADITION OF TOLSTOY, TURGENEV AND CHEKHOV, JUST AS
GERMAN HISTORY CONTAINS BOTH HITLER AND SCHILLER, ESSING, BOETHE,
HEINE, THOMAS MANN, AND HEINRICH BOLL. IN RUSSIA, FOR THE MOMENT AT
LEAST, THE MEN OF THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO ARE IN CHARGE. THEY ARE AS
BAD AS HITLER, AND THEIR FOREIGN POLICY, LIKE HITLER'S IS ONE OF
NAKED IMPERIALISM, COMPARABLE IN EVERY WAY TO THEIR INTERNAL POLICY
OF SUPPRESSING FREEDOM BY SENDING MEN AND WOMEN OF MORAL INDEPENDENCE

TO THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO AND TO MENTAL HOSPITALS. IT IS NOW CLEAR
BEYOND DOUBT THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO EXPAND THEIR INFLUENCE UNTIL
THEY ARE STOPPED BY THE CONFRONTATION OF UNACCEPTABLE RISK.

DOES THAT FACT MAKE OUR TASK HOPELESS? SHOULD WE YIELD TO
THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE, BECOME HEWERS OF WOOD AND DRAWERS OF WATER
FOR THE OVERLORDS OF TOTALITARIANISM, AND SIT IN SILENCE FOR A
BETTER DAY? CERTAINLY NOT.

WHILE MANY IN THE WEST ARE UNCERTAIN OF OUR COURSE, HESITANT
AND CONFUSED; WHILE THE WEST HAS RETREATED DURING THE LAST FEW
YEARS, AND LOST A FEW FORTS ALONG THE FRONTIER, THERE IS NO OBJECTIVE
NEED FOR US TO FEEL WEAK, TO ACT WEAK, AND TO RETREAT.
OUR GOOD POSITION IS GOOD, BETTER IN FACT THAN IT HAS BEEN IN A
LONG TIME, BECAUSE CHINA HAS TURNED TO THE WEST FOR PROTECTION
AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, AN EVENT OF PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE FOR
THE STRUCTURE OF WORLD POLITICS, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACE.
OUR WEAKNESS IS IN OUR MINDS, NOT IN THE STARS, OR THE REALITY OF
WORLD AFFAIRS. ONLY WE CAN CURE OURSELVES, AND WE MUST DO SO SOON,
BY FACING THE FACTS WITHOUT ILLUSION, AND BASING OUR POLICIES ON
THOSE FACTS. BUILDING ENOUGH WARSHIPS, TANKS, AND MISSILES TO
MAINTAIN DETERRENCE AT EVERY LEVEL WILL BE THE EASIEST PART OF THE
TASK OF PRESERVING OUR FREEDOM, ONCE OUR POLITICAL LEADERS TALK TO
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OUR PEOPLE EXACTLY AS MR. LUNS, LORD CHALFONT, ADMIRAL JUNG, AND
MR. POLMAR TALKED TO US AT THIS ASSEMBLY.
THERE IS STILL TIME - NOT MUCH TIME, BUT ENOUGH, TO PROTECT
THE SAFETY OF THE ATLANTIC NATIONS THROUGH PEACEFUL DETERRENCE AND
WELL CONSIDERED DIPLOMACY RATHER THAN THROUGH WAR. UNTIL THAT IS DONE
- BY THE ATLANTIC ALLIES IN THE AREAS AFFECTING THE SECURITY OF
EUROPE, AND BY THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PACIFIC ALLIES IN THE AREAS
AFFECTING THEIR SECURITY IN ASIA - UNTIL, THAT IS, THE COALITIONS
AND ALLIANCES OF THE FREE NATIONS CAN ONCE MORE EFFECTIVELY DETER OR
DEFEAT AGGRESSIONS AGAINST OUR VITAL INTERESTS, NO OTHER GOAL OF OUR
FOREIGN POLICY IS WITHIN REACH. UNTIL WORLD POWER IS STABILIZED,
POLITICALLY, AND MILITARILY, WE CANNOT HOPE TO RESTORE AN INTEGRATED,
PROGRESSIVE, AND NON-INFLATIONARY WORLD ECONOMY, ON WHICH OUR OWN
PROSPERITY DEPENDS. AND UNTIL THAT PRIMARY GOAL IS ACHIEVED, WE AND
THE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES WILL BE UNABLE TO ACHIEVE JUST

SYSTEMS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH THE DEVELOPING NATIONS AND THOSE OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD.

IN HIS STATEMENT OF WELCOME ON FRIDAY, OUR DISTINGUISHED HOST HEREN PER MARKUSSEN, THEPREISIDENT OF THE DANISH ATLANTIC ASSOCIATION, RECALLED THE FORMATION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREAY AS A RESPONSE TO THE WEAKNESS OF THE NITED NATIONS AS AN INSTITUTION CAPABLE OF ENFORCING THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. AS HE STRESSED, NATO IS NOT AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIOF, BUT A REGIONAL DEFENCE ARRANGEMENT UNDER THE CHARTER, AND A RECOGNIZED AND RIGHTFUL METHOD FOR ENFORCING IT RETIONALLY WHEN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS UNABLE OR UNWILING TO DO SO. FOR THE REASONS I OFFERED IN MY ADDRESS AT THE HAGUE TWO YEARS, AGO, I BELIEVE THAT MR.

MARKUSSEN'S VIEW IS THE HEART OF OUR PROBLEM.

FOR THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO LIVED THROUGH THE CALLAPSE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN THE "THIRTIES" AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR WHICH FOLLWED; FOR THE DELGATES WHO DRAFTED AND RATIFIED THE CHARGER IN 1974 AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY IN 1949; FOR THOSE WHO AUTHORIZED AND FOUGHT IN KOREA BETWEEN 1950 AND 1954, IT WASSELF-EVIDENT THAT PEACE IS INDIVISIBLE, IN LITVINOV'S PHRASE, AND THAT MAN'S BEST HOE FOR PEACE AND PROGRES LAY IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE CHARGER AS A NEW SYSTEM OF WORLD POLITICS ORDER BY LAW. THEY WERE COMPLETELY CONVINCED THAT THE SECOND WORLD WAR WOULD NEVER HAVE TAKEN PLACE IF THE DMOCRATIC NATIONS AND THE SOIVET UNION UNCLASSIFIED

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HAD UPHELD THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE,AND STOOD FIRM AGAINST AGRESSION DURING THE "THIRTIES" IN MANCHURIA, ETHIOPIA AND SPAIN, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE RHINELAND AND CZECHOSLAVAKIA. THEIR MINDS WERE DOMINAED BY THE SEARING MEMORY OF THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA ASKING THELEAGUE FOR PROTECTION AGAINST AGREESION , AND BEING HEARD IN SILENCE.

IN THE AFTERMATH OF KOREA AND VIETNAM, THIS VIEW OF WORLD POLITICS HAS BEEN GREAVELY WEAKENED.)WESTERN PUBLIC OPINON IS NO LONGER CONVINCED THAT PEACE IS INDIVISIBLE. AND IT NO LONGER BELIEVES THAT COLLECTIVE ENFORCEMENT OF THE CHARTER - THAT IS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGAINST AGGRESSION - IS THE BEST WAY TO PROTECT ITS INTERESTS INWORLD POLITCIS.

BUT NO ALTERNATIVE POLICY HAS BEEN A CEPTED TO REPLACE IT, AND INDEED NO ALTERNATIVE POLICY HAS BEEN SUGGESTED TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN OUR SMALL, TURBULENT, AND DANGEROUS WORLD. MEANWHILE, UNCERTAIN OF OUR COURSE, WE CONTINUE IN THE OLDER PATTERN, BUT WITHOUT CONVCTION, FLEXIBILITY, ENERGY OR IMAGINATION, ADRIFT AND DIVIDED.

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UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 2956

THE EFFORT TO IMPOSE GENERALLY ACCEPTED RULES OF RESTRAINT
WITH REGARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL USE OF FORCE IN WORLD POLITICS
GOES BACK TO THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE VOLCANIC EXPERIENCE
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OF WAR WHICH PRECEDED IT. FOR A CENTURY, THE CONCERN OF EUROPE WAS GENERALLY SUCCESSFUL IN MAINTAINING A SYSTEM OF PEACE AND MINIMIZING THE USE OF FORCE WITHIN IT. THE PROCESS OF PEACE SUFFERED A SETBACK IN 1914. IT WAS RESUMED AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR THROUGH THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. IT FAILED AGAIN IN THE THIRTIES, AND WAS TAKEN UP ONCE MORE IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE RULES OF THE CHARTER ARE CLEAR, AND HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED AND RESTATED (THOUGH NOT ENFORCED) WITH SURPRISING CONSISTENCY BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITIES FOR MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS. SAVE IN CASES OF INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE, OR ENFORCEMENT ACTION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE CHARTER PROHIBITS THE INTERNATIONAL USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ALL STATES, WHETHER MEMBERS OF THE U.N. OR NOT. EQUALLY, IT IMPOSES UPON THEM ABSOLUTE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE USE OF FORCE FROM THEIR TERRITORIES BY IRREGULAR FORCES, GUERRILLAS, MERCENARIES, OR ARMED BANDS. THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW WHICH MADE GREAT BRITAIN RESPONSIBLE TO THE UNITED STATES FOR FAILING TO PREVENT THE CONFEDERATE CRUISE ALABAMA FROM PUTTING TO SEA RETAIN THEIR VITALITY. THE CHARTER PROHIBITS THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE AND SO-CALLED WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AS CATEGORICALLY AS IT PROHIBITS ALL OTHER FORMS OF AGGRESSION.

EVEN IN THE HEYDAY OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE, EXCEPTIONS TO THE APPARENT UNIVERSALITY OF THE CHARTER WERE TACITLY RECOGNIZED. THE UNITED STATES AND ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES MADE NO SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO INVOKE THE CHARTER WITH REGARD TO SOVIET AGGRESSION IN EASTERN EUROPE; THE AREA WAS RECOGNIZED IN FACT, THOUGH NOT IN FORM, AS A SOVIET SPHERE OF INFLUENCE. SIMILARLY, NEITHER THE UNITED STATES NOR ANY OTHER POWER SOUGHT TO APPLY THE RULES OF THE CHARTER TO THE PROCESS OF AFRICAN DECOLONIZATION.

IN RECENT YEARS, THE EXCEPTIONS TO THE RULES OF THE CHARTER HAVE BEGUN TO LOOM LARGER THAN THE RULES THEMSELVES. THE NUMBER, SCALE, AND IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL AGGRESSIONS HAVE INCREASED DRAMATICALLY - AGGRESSIONS SUPPORTED IN EACH CASE BY THE SOVIET UNION.

THAT FACT CHALLENGES THE POSSIBILITY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM
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POSITED BY THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER - A SYSTEM OF WORLD POLITICS ORDERED BY LAW: A SYSTEM MORE JUST THAN THE IMPERIAL SYSTEM OF THE PAST, AND MORE PROGRESSIVE A SYSTEM WHICH SOUGHT TO DEVELOP PEACE-

FUL PROCEDURES FOR VINDICATING HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE SELF DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES; BUT ABOVE ALL, A SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

THE PROCESS OF AGGRESSION IS CUMULATIVE AND SELF-REINFORCING. ITS MOMENTUM IS INCREASING, AND BECOMES MORE DIFFICULT TO CONTAIN. THE RESTRAINTS OF CIVILIZATION ABOUT WHICH FREUD WROTE ARE DISSOLVING BEFORE OUR EYES. WE ARE CLOSE TO THE POINT OF WITNESSING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS AN INFLUENCE IN WORLD POLITICS, JUST AS WE SAW THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE VANISH A GENERATION AGO.

UNLESS THIS PROCESS IS PROMPTLY ARRESTED; UNLESS THE WORLD SOON RETURNS TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER, THE SPREAD OF AGGRESSION WILL THREATEN THE MINIMAL GOALS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY- THE ACHIEVEMENT OF EQUILIBRIUM IN WORLD POWER, THE FOUNDATION OF OUR OWN SURVIVAL, AND OF ALL OUR EFFORTS TO FULFILL THE BROADER ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL GOALS OF OUR DIPLOMACY.

THE LESSON OF THE LAST FEW YEARS, WRITTEN IN EVERY DAY'S NEWSPAPERS, IS THAT PEACE IS INDEED INDIVISIBLE.

THE TIME HAS COME, I BELIEVE, FOR THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIES TO EXAMINE THESE TRENDS CAREFULLY AND AT LENGTH, AND TO REACH A COMMON AND CONCERTED POSITION WITH REGARD TO THEM. THE SLIDE TOWARDS ANARCHY IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS MUST BE STOPPED, AND REVERSED, BEFORE IT OVERWHELMS THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACE.

IF THE ATLANTIC ALLIES ACT TOGETHER AS PARTNERS IN THIS EFFORT; IF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PACIFIC ALLIES DO LIKEWISE; AND IF CHINA, WHOSE INTERESTS PARALLEL OUR OWN, ACTS IN CONCERT WITH US, OUR COMBINED INFLUENCE IS SURELY ENOUGH TO HELP RESTORE THE VITALITY OF THE CHARTER, WHICH STATES OUR DEEPEST ASPIRATION, AND OUR MOST FUNDAMENTAL INTEREST IN WORLD POLITICS.

OBVIOUSLY, THE ALLIES WILL HAVE TO REARM TO RESTORE OUR DETERRENT STRENGTH, BOTH NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL, IT IS EQUALLY OBVIOUS THAT WE SHALL HAVE TO RESTORE AND REVITALIZE THE PROCESSES OF POLITICAL CONSULTATION ON WHICH ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY

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DEPENDS.

WHILE THESE INDISPENSABLE STEPS ARE BEING TAKEN, I BELIEVE WE MUST MAKE ONE CENTRAL AND IMPERATIVE POINT UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR, AND THAT WE MUST DO SO AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE CAN NO LONGER ACCEPT A SITUATION IN WHICH WE LIVE BY THE RULES OF THE CHARTER GOVERNING THE INTERNATIONAL USE OF FORCE, WHILE THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS PROXIES, SATELLITES, AND ALLIES VIOLATE THOSE RULES ON A SCALE WHICH BECOMES LARGER, MORE PERVAISIVE, AND MORE DANGEROUS WITH EVERY PASSING YEAR. THE TACIT EXPECTATIONS TO THE CHARTER WHICH

HAVE BEEN ACKNOWLEDGED IN STATE PRACTICE IN THE PAST - THE FAILURE TO APPLY THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER IN EASTERN EUROPE, OR IN THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA - NOW THREATEN TO SAWLLAW THE RULES, AND TO DESTROY THEM. UNLESS WE INSIST ON MUTUAL AND RECIPROCAL RESPECT FOR THE RULES OF THE CHARTER, THOSE RULES WILL SURELY DISAPPEAR AS THE RULES OF THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE DISAPPEARED A GENERATION AGO.

THEN, TOO LATE, MEN WILL REALIZE AGAIN THE ROLE OF LAW IN HUMAN SOCIETY AND FACE ONCE MORE THE TRAGIC TASK OF BRINGING ORDER OUT OF ANARCHY AND CHAOS.

LORD CHALFONT QUOTED A FAMOUS COMMENT BY EDMUND BURKE, AND I CONCLUDE BY FOLLOWING HIS EXAMPLE: FOR EVIL TO PREVAIL, IT IS ONLY NECESSARY THAT GOOD MEN DO NOTHING.
DEAN

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